Chapter 16.

Police education and training-evaluation of 'professional/academic' model.

There has recently been a renewal of interest in the relationship between higher education and police performance and it would appear that much of the research examining this relationship has been conducted in the United States of America. The dominant model of police education and training in this country has been referred to as the professional or academic model. The reference to a model erroneously suggests a common rationale or unified approach to police education and training in the United States of America. The review of the literature strongly suggests that this is not the case (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Sherman, 1978). However, common to the literature is a recognition of the increasing complexity of police work, a desire to improve the professional prestige of the police and the professional behaviour and performance of its practitioners (for example, Carter *et al.*, 1989; Sherman, 1978; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). In keeping with these aspirations, improvements in police training and a substantial increase in the educational level and educational requirements for police have been sought (*President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice Report*, 1967; Sherman, 1978). The interest in tertiary education for police officers culminated in a proliferation of tertiary education courses and prompted research into the relationship between higher education and police performance (Carter *et al.*, 1989).

The emergence of community policing, with its attendant requirements for organisational and operational reform, has added another dimension to the debate concerning the relationship between tertiary education and policing (Carter & Sapp, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999). The strategic shift in policing (Kakar, 1998, p. 632), implicit within the theoretical framework of community policing, has significant implications for the reform of police education and training. The distinction between higher education and law-enforcement training within the United States has become increasingly blurred (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 75). Subject matter normally associated with higher education is being offered within the context of training courses (Marion, 1998, p. 60) and vocational training offered under the auspices or

within the context of tertiary education programs (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Marion, 1998). An important distinction to be made is that "education is intended to promote autonomy and deliberate judgement while training may create dependency, conformity and working to rule" (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 75). Operational autonomy and the capacity for "critical thinking" engendered through tertiary education (Vickers, 2000, p. 511) is considered supportive of the judicious use of discretion and this is viewed as leading to improvements in practice (Cervero, 1988; 1992, as cited in Vickers, 2000, p. 511; Dalley, 1975). A growing emphasis upon improving police practice, the quality of police services to the community (Carter & Radelet, 1998; Kakar, 1998) and calls to "satisfy both a community and an investigative role" (Bryett, 1999, p. 39) have revived interest in researching the relationship between organisational reform, police performance and higher education.

16.1   Justification for tertiary education

Several Australian inquiries into policing including the *Neesham Report* (1985), the *Costigan Report* (1989), the *Fitzgerald Report* (1990) and the *Wood Report* (1997) have suggested a relationship between low standards of police education and police ineptness, inefficiency, corruption and racism. These views serve to maintain, and have in recent years revived, the interest in higher educational standards for recruitment, vocational preparation and promotion. Higher educational standards for the police have been adopted primarily because of the recommendations of various national commissions and a *belief*, "not on the basis of definitive research", that higher education will improve the quality of police services (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 2; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997).

This belief has contributed to the creation of an association between higher education and the professionalisation of policing, improvements in police behaviour and performance and attitudinal change (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Bittner, 1990; Hoover, 1975, p. 1; A study of the Minnesota Professional Peace Officer Education System [MPPOES], 1991, Sherman, 1978; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 76). Higher education has been accepted as a fundamental part of an anti-corruption strategy and as a deterrent to unacceptable aspects of the police culture (Fitzgerald, 1989; Mollen, 1994; Woods, 1996). Furthermore, the increasing complexity of the police role and the nature of police work is viewed as warranting an

education beyond vocational and technical training (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Carter *et al.*, 1988; Bittner, 1990; Hayeslip, 1989; Sherman, 1978).

A paradigm shift in policing saw the focus of attention shift to viewing higher education "as an instrument for inculcating democratic and progressive social values of equality, mutual accommodation, and adaption in the police" (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 77). Calls to fulfil a community and an investigative role, quite different ideological approaches to policing, (Bryett, 1999, pp. 39-40) are seen as warranting personnel who possess intellectual curiosity, analytical ability, effective communication skills and the ability to make sound judgements based upon an interpretation of events as they relate to the social, political and economic context at the time (Bittner, 1990; Goldstein, 1990; Kakar, 1998, p. 633; Vickers, 2000, p. 507). "These are characteristics that are commonly associated with higher education" (Bittner, 1990; Fitzgerald, 1989; Kakar, 1998, p. 633). Higher education is seen as cultivating critical thinking and critical reflection (Patterson, 1991; Vickers, 2000, pp. 511-512; Wood, 1997). These skills are considered crucial to the discretionary decision making process that characterises operational policing (Bradley, 1992; Vickers, 2000). To summarise, tertiary education for the police is justified by a *belief* that it "will positively change practice, in producing a police officer capable of better exercising judgement in police matters" (Finnane, 1994, p. 149; Leblanc, 1989; Roberg, 1978).

16.2 The status of higher education in the United States of America

The Wickersham Commission, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, (1931, as cited in Carter *et al.*, 1989, pp. 30-31; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 75) observed that the great majority of police were not suited by education or training to hold office. Tertiary education for the police was first proposed by Vollmer in 1917 (Hudzik, 1978, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) although within the context of organisational professionalisation, a process that Shernock and Dantzker (1997, p. 79) suggests is best identified as 'bureaucratization'. A succession of police administrators and national inquiries have proposed that the operational and administrative difficulties currently experienced by the police could be alleviated, and the professional status of police improved, by pursuing higher education for the police.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973, as cited in Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 35) recommended that:

1. every police agency should *require immediately* as a condition of employment the completion of at least one year of education at an accredited college or university.

2. every police agency should not later than 1975 require as a condition of initial employment the completion of at least two years of education at an accredited college or university.

3. every police agency should no later than 1978 require as a condition of initial employment the completion of at least 3 years of education at an accredited college or university.

4. every police agency should no later than 1982 require as a condition of initial employment four years education (baccalaureate degree) at an accredited college or university.

It was judged that these recommendations would lead to a significant improvement in the quality of service provided by law-enforcement agencies (Hayeslip, 1989, p. 49; Sherman, 1978). Following the commission, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was established and in turn the Law Enforcement Education Program, which provided monies (a five year budget of 6.8 billion dollars from 1975 to 1981) for police education and training. A further national response to improving the quality of police and police services occurred during the 1989-90 session of Congress where the *Police Recruitment and Education Program* bill was passed (MPPOES, 1991). This bill sought improvements in the educational level of police by promoting participation in higher education through the provision of student loans.

Virtually every national commission on law-enforcement in the United States of America and other significant studies, for example Sherman (1978), have recommended substantial improvements in police education (Cox, 1996). However, it would appear that despite these recommendations "the educational level and educational requirements for positions in policing have not been upgraded substantially during the intervening decades" (Carter & Sapp, 1990; Carter *et al.*, 1988:1989; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 77).

A survey by the Police Executive Research Forum (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 38) found that 65.6% of police surveyed had one or more years of college and 22.6% had acquired at least a baccalaureate degree. Shernock and Dantzker (1997, p. 78) have reported that the survey results were inaccurate, citing a bias towards middle and large departments where it was assumed that more police possessed tertiary qualifications. Of the departments surveyed only 13.8% required some level of tertiary education for employment (Carter *et al.*, 1988) and only .4% required a baccalaureate degree (Carter & Sapp, 1990; Carter *et al.*, 1988,1989; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). This was considered a marginal increase upon the results of the National Manpower Survey of the Criminal Justice System, 1978. This survey found that of the 2,639 police agencies responding, only 5.5% had any college requirement as a condition of employment (Green & Cordner, 1980, as cited by Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 78). A national study conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1990, as cited in Kakar, 1998, p. 642) found that of the 3,000 state and local departments surveyed only 1% required a college degree for employment. A more recent survey by the Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (Reaves, 1992, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 78) involving 2,945 agencies found that 6% of local departments (1,830 surveyed) and 18% of state departments (49 surveyed) required some college education for employment. Furthermore, the report found that less than .5% of all departments required new police officers to have a four-year college degree (Reaves, 1996, as cited in Kakar, 1998, p.642).

The educational standards recommended and envisioned by various commissions (for example, National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973) and police administrators (for example, Vollmer) have not been achieved (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Sapp, 1988). Shernock and Dantzker (1997, p. 78) have suggested that this indicates a lack of commitment by police departments to increasing educational levels for police officers; whereas Carter *et al.* (1989) counsels that the standards set were overly optimistic and that slow but gradual improvements are being made. A firmer stance has been taken by Sapp (1988) who has argued that only the establishment of tertiary education as a specific requirement for recruitment indicates law-enforcement's commitment to educational and operational reform.

Why the recommendations have not been met has been attributed to disagreement with the commission's recommendations of a 4 year baccalaureate degree for recruitment (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) and the persistence of a myopic view of policing and police work as simplistic and not requiring intellectual skills (Kakar, 1998, p. 643). Other factors included the continued disagreement regarding the nature, extent and provision of college education (Carter *et al.*, 1989) and cultural and institutional intransigence towards higher education and tertiary institutions. Additionally, the withdrawal of specific funding for education programs brought about a reduction in the number of programs offered by colleges and universities and a reduction in the number of police undertaking further education (Carter *et al.*, 1989). Kakar has suggested that further research is required to analyse the impediments to the implementation of educational reform (1998, p. 643).

16.3   Higher education and police performance: an evaluation of the research.

The earlier literature on police education and the supporting rationale adopted by various commission reports pertaining to the value and effects of tertiary education for the police "were generally rhetorical and intuitive, rather than based on empirical evidence" (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 79). Initially, research focused upon the attitudinal differences between tertiary educated police and non-tertiary educated police and more recently upon the inculcation of democratic values and "general social and psychological traits" (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 79). Performance and attitudinal studies suggested that tertiary education, attitudes and performance were interrelated (Hayeslip, 1989; Hoover, 1975). It was hypothesised that education had an effect on attitudes which in turn had an effect on police work and behaviour (Hayeslip, 1989; Roberg, 1978).

However, measuring the effects of tertiary education upon police performance is considered extraordinarily difficult (Carter *et al.*, 1989, pp. 3-4; Hoover, 1975; Vodicka, 1994). Varying styles of policing, the diversity of police work and the need to identify and separate extraneous factors that may influence police work make it difficult to determine what to measure and how to measure it (Vodicka, 1994, p. 91). The problem is compounded by variations in the college experience, the extent and quality of the education provided, and variations in the curriculum (Carter *et al.*, p. 3). Selecting observed behaviour, attitudes and

values as indicators of police performance requires a consensus on what constitutes good and bad police performance and practice, and police officers for each indicator (Hoover, 1975; Vodicka, 1994, p. 91). Difficulties have been encountered in measuring these attributes, any change in these attributes and their relationship to any improvement in police performance (Hoover, 1975). Variations in the context of policing brought on by differences in social, political and economic characteristics further complicate the identification of performance measures and other variables affecting performance (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 3).

It is apparent from the various literature reviews examined that the research on the effects of higher education and police performance has diminished over time (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 24; Vodicka, 1994, p. 91). To illustrate this point Buckley, McGinnis and Petrunik (1992, p. 80) point to Hayeslip's (1989) research on higher education and police performance. Of the 46 references cited in Hayeslip's review, only seven were in the 1980's and three of these were on methodology, not policing and education. Examining police attitudes towards higher education, the research of Buckley *et al.*, (1992) itself cites 44 references of which 5 derive from the 1960's, 27 from the 1970's, 10 from the 1980's and 2 from 1991. A further example of the paucity of recent research is provided by Kakar's (1998) analysis of the relationship between a police officer's education level and job performance. Of the 29 studies pertaining to police education and police performance cited in the review, 1 derived from the 1960's, 22 from the 1970's, 2 from the 1980's and 3 from the 1990's. Hayeslip (1989, p. 57) appears to be clearly frustrated by the paucity and adequacy of recent research material, so much so that he urged "better quality, more extensive and more thoroughly reported research on the effects of education on the police".

"Studies attempting to link education level and police performance have been criticised for a plethora of contradictory findings" (Shernock and Dantzker, 1997, p. 81) and for failing to adequately control for extraneous and component variables (Hayeslip, 1989). A lack of consensus, subjectivity and organisational and traditional biases are reflected in performance evaluations (MPPOES, 1991). The use of citizen complaints has been queried, inadequate record keeping and a bias against higher education in performance ratings have all been reported (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, pp. 80-81). Furthermore, problems have arisen over

the interpretation of performance indicators as denoting good or bad police performance (Hoover, 1975; Sherman, 1978; Vodicka, 1994). Hayeslip has cautioned acceptance of the research literature judging that:

> the literature to date provides very little insight into the affects of all sorts of other variables which may affect the simple relationship discussed. Thus, we know very little about possible causal interactions and how education may effect performance (i.e., under what conditions). (1989, p. 57).

Given the difficulties associated with making a uniform analysis of job requirements and the definitional and measurements problems encountered, "the validity and reliability of *any* research on police education" is likely to be challenged (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 3). These researchers are adamant that a solution to the issue will not be provided by "rigid empiricism", suggesting instead that the issue "must be viewed from a broad, eclectic, somewhat intuitive light --- one that considers the cumulative research and professional opinion" (1989, pp. 4-5). On the relationship between education and police performance Scott, (1986, as cited in MPPOES, 1991, p. 13; Carter *et al.*, 1989; Cox, 1996) concluded that "although some empirical studies indicate that a college education produces better police officers, the value of college for police is still, to a large degree, a matter of conjecture".

16.4   Review of the literature.

Reviewing the impact of higher education on the culture of the professions, Najman and Western (1988, p. 233) concluded that as a consequence of their educational experience students became more liberal on political, social and economic issues; less dogmatic in their attitudes; less pragmatic in problem solving and less cynical. They also viewed the university experience as "responsible for students acquiring, on the one hand, liberal and intellectual attitudes, and on the other, highly profession-centred perspectives about the ways in which professional services should be delivered" (1988, p. 235). These are characteristics which have been sought to reform policing and police practice and to provide improvements in police performance.

The most comprehensive analysis of the literature on higher education and police performance to date appears to have been conducted by Carter *et al.* (1989), a view shared by MPPOES (1991). Persistent themes reported by the analysis of Carter *et al.* were that:

* College-educated officers perform the tasks of policing better than their non-college counterparts.

* College-educated officers are generally better communicators, whether with a citizen, in court, or as part of a written police report.

* The college-educated officer is more flexible in dealing with difficult situations and in dealing with persons of diverse cultures, lifestyles, races, and ethnicity.

* Officers with higher education are more "professional" and more dedicated to policing as a career rather than as a job.

* Educated officers adapt better to organizational change and are more responsive to alternative approaches to policing.

* The quality of police education varies significantly; this appears to co-vary with officer's attitudes and the effect of education on police performance.

* Law enforcement agencies have fewer administrative and personal problems with the college-educated officer compared with the non-college officer.

* The "true" effects of higher education of policing probably cannot be empirically determined -- a qualitative, intuitive approach may be just as accurate. (1989, pp. ix,x).

16.5   Summary of the literature

This review of the literature has relied heavily upon the reviews conducted by Buckley *et al.* (1992, pp. 78-81), Carter *et al.* (1989), Shernock and Dantzker, (1997, pp. 78-82) and Kakar (1998, pp. 633-635). The research on the relationship between tertiary education and police performance has commonly compared college educated police with non-college educated police (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) and self-evaluation studies (for example, Kakar, 1997). Commonly used measures of police performance include attitudinal measures (e.g. authoritarianism), behavioural measures of performance (e.g. arrests), performance ratings by superiors, and job satisfaction. More recently, some research has examined the relationship of higher education and community policing. The research has produced diverse and often contradictory results (Kakar, 1998).

A study by Roberg (1978, p. 343) found "a functional relationship existed between higher education, dogmatism and job performance." Roberg had determined that increased educational levels resulted in low levels of dogmatism which in turn had led to higher performance levels (1978, p.343). Studies cited by Kakar (1997, p. 634) found college educated police to be more flexible, less authoritarian and more conscious and tolerant of social and cultural diversity (for example, Dalley, 1975; Parker *et al.*, 1976; Roberg, 1978; Smith *et al.*, 1970; Trojanowicz and Nicholson, 1976). Research cited by Buckley *et al.* (1992, p. 78) concluded that college educated officers were found to be less dogmatic (for example, Roberg, 1978; Parker *et al.*, 1976), less authoritarian (for example, Smith, Locke & Walker, 1967; Smith, Locke & Fenster, 1970), less conservative and rigid (for example, Dalley, 1975), and had reduced levels of cynicism (for example, Neiderhoffer, 1967). Several studies cited by Buckley *et al.* (1992) reported no significant relationship between higher education and cynicism (for example Weiner, 1976; Regoli, 1976; Lotz & Regoli, 1977, Wycoff & Susmilch, 1979). A small or insignificant effect on officer attitudes was reported by Worden (1990, as cited in Kakar, 1998, p. 634). Several studies cited by Kakar (1997, p. 634) (for example, Cohen & Chaiken, 1972; Levy, 1967; Stoddard, 1973; Swanson, 1977; Weirman, 1978) reported a negative relationship between college education and attitudes and performance.

Contradictory results have been reported by Buckley *et al.* (1992, p. 78) and Shernock and Dantzker (1997, p. 80) on the relationship between higher education and police performance. Research cited by Buckley *et al.* (1992) found a positive relationship between higher education and arrest rates, decreased rates of absenteeism, and fewer complaints and disciplinary actions (for example, Bozza, 1973; Cascio, 1977; Cohen & Chaiken, 1973; Glasglow & Knowles, 1973). Several studies cited by Shernock and Dantzker (1997, p. 80) found a positive correlation between higher education and arrest rates, fewer injuries and accidents, fewer civilian complaints and increased activity in a range of routine police activities (for example, Bowker, 1980; Carter & Sapp, 1990; Cascio, 1977; Finckenauer, 1977; Hudzik, 1978; Sherman, 1978; Sparling, 1975; Taft, 1981). No relationship between college education and police performance was found by Kedia (1985, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) and contradictory results were reported by Carter, Jamieson and Sapp (1978,

as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997).

The literature on officer performance ratings is just as ambiguous. Several authors cited by Buckley *et al.* (1992, p. 78) found a positive correlation between favourable performance ratings and higher education (for example, Finnegan, 1976; Sanderson, 1977; Saunders, 1970; Spenser & Nichols, 1971). Sherman (1978, as cited, in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 81) found evidence of a bias against higher education in performance evaluations. Authors cited by Buckley *et al.* (1992, p. 79) found a negative relationship (for example, Smith & Ostrom, 1974) or established that no clear relationship existed (for example, Gotlieb, 1974; Marsh, 1962). Worden (1990, as cited in Buckley *et al.*, 1992, p. 79) found no relationship between citizen evaluations of police performance and higher education. The research of Truxillo, Bennett and Collins (1998, p. 269), a longitudinal study of job performance and college education, established a statistically significant relationship between promotions and supervisory ratings of job knowledge and college education variables. College education has been associated with an increased expectation for career advancement (Dantzker, 1993, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) and there exists a belief that college educated officers receive preferential consideration for promotion (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Rawson, 1986; Southerland, 1984, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). Fischer, Golden and Heininger (1985, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) found that college education was not significantly related to promotion, and Greene and Cordner (1980, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) found no reliance upon higher education in formal promotional policies. Furthermore, less than 5% of law enforcement agencies surveyed by Carter *et al.* (1989, p. 56) had a formal policy requiring higher education for promotion. Buckley *et al.*, (1992, p. 95) reported ambiguity between the relationship between tertiary education and promotional policies.

Some studies reported by Buckley *et al.* (1992) reported greater dissatisfaction (for example, Burbeck & Furnham, 1985) and higher attrition rates (for example, Fielding & Fielding, 1987) amongst college educated officers. Job dissatisfaction, frustration and a lack of stimulation and appreciation were reported by college educated police (Kakar, 1998). Worden (1990, as cited in Buckley *et al.*, 1992) has attributed this to the frustration

experienced with working within a rigid bureaucratic-paramilitary organisation and a dissatisfaction with limited or delayed promotion (Swanson, 1977, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). Several studies cited by Shernock and Dantzker (1997) found no relationship between college education and satisfaction with police work (for example, Leftkowitz, 1974) or with the police organisation (for example, Miller & Fry, 1976). Still Dantzker (1993, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 81) found that after 5 years of service, job satisfaction decreased as the level of education increased.

Several studies cited by Buckley *et al.* (1992, p. 78) have attributed higher education to a broader perspective of the police role (for example, Worden, 1990), a more holistic approach to police work (for example, Trojanowicz & Nicholson, 1976), and greater use of discretion (for example, Taylor, 1983; Worden, 1990). It has been suggested that tertiary educated police have a greater appreciation of the role of police in a democratic society and stronger attitudes towards professionalism (Kakar, 1998, p. 634). According to Kakar, if higher education is associated with professionalism then professionalism means police who are service oriented, independent, ethical and efficient (Blumberg & Niederhoffer, 1985, as cited in Kakar, 1998, p. 634). For others, it means integrity and problem solving abilities (Bittner, 1990; Shernock, 1992, as cited in Kakar, 1998, p. 635), critical thinking and critical reflection skills (Vickers, 2000), and the capacity to adapt to organisational change (Carter *et al.*, 1988). Yet Shernock (1992, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p.80) found no strong relationship between "most of the attributes of professionalism that have been identified in the literature on police professionalism." No strong correlation was found between tertiary education and a commitment to the service ideal.

> Higher education level was also not related to the exercise of greater discretion as indicated by a greater tendency to take informal action in order-maintenance cases and by greater support for independence from the supervision or authority of nominal superiors, nor to the comparative value placed upon efficiency in work. (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 80).

Furthermore, education level was found "not to have any significant effect on officers' attitudes towards their job, office and department" (Kakar, 1998, p. 642). These findings support the research of Worden (1990, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) which found that college education was only weakly related to or unconnected with work-related attitudes.

16.6   Negative effects of higher education on law-enforcement

In addition to research that has shown no significant correlation between higher education and police performance, there exists a belief that "higher education as a prerequisite to police service is ill-advised and possibly detrimental" (MPPEOS, 1991, p. 17). However, MPPEOS (1991) has cautioned against the acceptance of many of the articles that do not support the concept of higher education, finding that they were not based upon empirical research but were reports of opinions or attitudes of the authors. Persistent themes in the literature reviewed suggest that college educated officers were more likely to question orders and request re-assignment, rapidly became disinterested and frustrated with police work, and had higher resignation rates (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. xxiii). Both Carter *et al.* (1989, p. 21) and MPPEOS (1991, p. 19) suggested that these difficulties were the result of the complex interaction between occupational socialisation, the nature of police work, the context of policing, and management strategies. Each acknowledged the need for creative management strategies, job enrichment strategies, career development programs and an innovative approach to policing and police work.

It has also been argued that a degree requirement would adversely effect minority employment, restrict the number of available applicants and establish an impossible employment target (Carter *et al.*, 1989). Minority groups can experience differential access to education which in turn can restrict their access to higher education and employment opportunities (Carter & Sapp, 1992; Davis, 1988). An insistence upon tertiary education for police recruitment and promotion may discriminate against minority employment and advancement within police organisations (Dean & Thorne, 1993). "Despite these concerns, however, a college education can still be required for police employment" (Carter & Sapp, 1992, p. 11).

The unique responsibilities of the police and the public responsibility for law enforcement justified the establishment of a college education for police employment (Carter & Sapp, 1992; Carter *et al.* 1988). Carter *et al.* (1988) in a study, Higher Education as a Bona Fide Occupational Qualification, reviewed some notable American court decisions regarding education requirements for police. For example, Davis v. Dallas confirmed the unusual

nature of policing and upheld higher education requirements for police. Other decisions made include Aguilera v. Cook County Police and Correction Board, which determined that the exercise of discretionary powers associated with the police role and the potential for abuse mandated higher education requirements. Justifiable or not, higher education requirements for policing are often cited as the principal cause for the under representation of minorities within policing. However, the research of Carter *et al.* (1988) concluded that minority representation within law enforcement agencies, by ethnicity, was proportional to their national representations. The research also found that minority groups and women had a significantly higher educational level than white male police officers. From this research, Carter *et al.* (1988, p. 20) concluded that "college does not have the significant negative effect on minority officer recruitment as initially believed." Instead, cultural traits of racism and masculinity have been cited for the under-representation of minorities and women in policing (Sherman, 1978; Carter *et al.* 1989; Smithers *et al.* 1989). Nonetheless, Carter and Sapp (1992) have argued strongly for innovative and aggressive recruiting programs for women and minorities when limiting entry or promotion through educational requirements.

There are *good* police officers without degrees and *poor* police officers with them (Rawson, 1986) and this assertion implies that precluding non-college educated applicants will prevent many otherwise qualified applicants from becoming police officers (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Griffith & QUT Universities, 1992). These assertions are seen to derive in part from what appears to be an organisational and/or cultural cringe from the stigma of elitism and entrenched perceptions that common-sense and higher education are mutually exclusive (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Griffith & QUT Universities, 1992). Both opinions would appear to stem from a minimalist view of policing and police work which perseveres due to the inherent problems associated with measuring performance and clearly establishing the nature of its relationship with higher education (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Bittner, 1990).

On this issue, Bittner (1990) has argued that accepting non-degree applicants will, as educational levels in the community increase, eventually lead to a decline in the average quality of recruits. Bittner concludes this line of debate with the remark that there "is no use in having policemen if they are not the ones we need" (1990, p. 170). Recruiting the educated

has been a strategy adopted to counteract cultural and organisational impediments to educational, organisational and operational reform. The socialisation of recruits is well documented. Although there exists a belief that immunity to the socialisation process was acquired from previous tertiary experience (Bryett, 1992), as yet no research has indicated that tertiary educated recruits are in any way immune from the process. On educating the recruited Bittner (1990) has commented that prior exposure to the socialisation process of the police culture may retard or distort the tertiary education experience. Reviewing police education in Canada, Grant (1987, p. 51) found that it was not clear that higher education, after or during many years of police socialisation, was as beneficial in acquiring a broad and liberal outlook as obtained from exposure to higher education prior to recruitment. The literature remains indecisive regarding the timing of exposure to tertiary education for police.

Despite reservations, O'Rouke (1971, as cited in MPPEOS, 1991) suggested that a preference for a career in law-enforcement, uncertainties in the labour market and competitive salaries have ensured that law-enforcement agencies have been able to compete with private industry for college educated applicants (Carter *et al.*, 1989). Despite reforms in policing and police education, and diminishing perceptions of the negative effects of higher education, these same arguments continue to be raised against higher education for police (Carter *et al.*, 1989).

16.7   Higher education - curricula and education content.
Another contentious issue pertaining to the value of higher education concerns the type of education required for police and policing. According to Shernock and Dantzker (1997, p.82) most of the performance and attitude studies have failed to distinguish between preservice and inservice students, the types of institution attended and the programs undertaken, either vocational or liberal arts.

Early reviews of police education in the United States of America found a bias towards vocational and training programs to the detriment of a liberal arts education, a disregard for the intrinsic value of the academic experience and an emphasis on the acquisition of credentials (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Goldstein, 1977; Hoover, 1975). In the review The Quality of Police Education prepared for the National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for

Police Officers, Sherman (1978) severely criticised the quality and relevancy of police education (Carter *et al.*, 1989; Sherman, 1978; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). Sherman determined that:

> much police education today is intellectually shallow, conceptually narrow, and provided by faculty that are far from scholarly. Rather than helping to change the police, police education appears to support the status quo, teaching what the police do now instead of inquiring what they could do differently. (Sherman, 1978 p. 19; Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 25).

It has been suggested by Carter *et al.* that a number of factors interacted to impair the quality of police education. A suggestion of "profiteering" on the part of colleges, the dramatic growth in demand and interest in criminal justice education, combined with a lack of planning and direction for program development and limited resources, all contributed to qualitative limitations. Compounding these factors were conflicting demands for liberal arts education or vocational programs, and an insistence on academic credit for inservice courses and academy training programs. (1989, p. 26). The awarding of academic credits and an emphasis upon vocational programs not only failed to fulfil academic needs (Carter *et al.*, 1988; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) but contradicted the spirit of the recommendations of various national commissions (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 83).

To overcome the quality issues, Sherman recommended the abolition of two-year college programs and the practice of awarding college credit for police academy and similar training programs. It was proposed that the same standards should apply to police education faculty as in other tertiary institutions and it was deemed that prior policing experience should not be a hindrance or criteria for faculty selection. A four-year baccalaureate degree was recommended as the minimum educational qualification for recruitment and programs with broad based curricula and qualified faculty were to receive preference in funding allocation. Furthermore, vocational and technical training should not exceed 25% of any curriculum (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 27; Sherman, 1978, pp. 1-17; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 83).

The review undertaken by Carter *et al.* (1989) found evidence to suggest that law-enforcement and criminal justice curricula had adopted more of a liberal arts orientation and that the quality of faculty and research had improved. Carter and Sapp (1992) report a great

deal of variance in the content and quality of criminal justice programs. Studies by Patterson (1991) and Cox (1996) suggest that college programs remain heavily weighted towards vocational and technical training and focus upon management and organisational issues instead of stressing the interdisciplinary nature of policing. Some research (Marion, 1998) has also indicated that the quality and professional conduct of some faculty has not improved. Others have reported instances where vocational curricula and educational content has been superficially modified to take into account the re-emergence of a social-service role for police (Carter *et al.* 1990). At the moment, the debate appears locked in to the relative merits of a liberal arts program or a criminal justice major as meeting the educational requirements of police and the policing requirements of the community. To date, no agreement appears to have been reached on an appropriate core curriculum for criminal justice programs and as a consequence "little consensus has been reached about appropriate course-work for police officers other than gaining a broader knowledge of the entire criminal justice system" (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 84).

However, criminal justice students in law enforcement have demonstrated a preference for programs and courses that favour vocational and technical skills (Massey, 1993, as cited in Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 84). A preference for vocational and technical oriented courses or what has been referred to as 'job related' subjects has also been observed by Carter *et al.* (1989). Reservations have also been expressed by students regarding the relevancy of the theoretical component of programs and the educational experience, preferring instead the knowledge and skills derived through vocational or technical training and experience (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997).

Emphasis has been placed on the importance of tertiary education for organisational and operational reform especially in reference to the acceptance and implementation of community policing (Bittner, 1990). Yet, while a great deal has been written on community policing, "very little if anything has been published on how to incorporate this approach in the curriculum" (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p. 85). It has been suggested by Dantzker, Lurigio, Hartnett, Houmes, Davidsdottir and Donovan (1995, p. 46) that the scarcity of information may be due to the lack of consensus on a model of community policing and that this has also

made it difficult to evaluate what training programs do exist. It has been argued (Bittner, 1990; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997) that community oriented policing warrants the recruitment of tertiary educated personnel and, in the interim, the development of 'quality' and comprehensive "in-service educational or training programs" for serving police. According to Shernock and Dantzker, (1997, p. 85) this has not occurred.

16.8   Conclusion

Higher educational standards for the police have been adopted primarily because of the recommendations of various national commissions and a *belief* that higher education will improve the quality of police services (Carter *et al.*, 1989, p. 2; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). Higher education for police has been justified on current job requirements, on issues of public safety and in relationship to community oriented policing (Bittner, 1990; Carter *et al.*, 1989; Goldstein, 1990). Higher education is also perceived as an important part of a strategy for facilitating cultural and organisational change (Fitzgerald, 1989; Sherman, 1978; Wood, 1996). There is a perception that college educated police:

> are more responsive to the public, are better decision makers, are more innovative and flexible in problem-solving, show greater empathy toward the disenfranchised, are more responsible in exercising police authority, are less cynical and exhibit a more goal-oriented and professional attitude (Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p.79).

This view is also supported by Carter *et al.* (1989) and Carter & Sapp (1990). The college experience has been attributed to an increase in critical thinking and adaptability. These are characteristics and skills which are considered crucial to the development of police and policing for a community service or problem oriented role (Cox, 1996). However, according to Truxillo *et al.* (1998, p. 269), "these pattens of relationships may indicate that college education is relevant to many aspects of police work but should not be assumed to predict all areas of job performance."

The research on the relationship between higher education, police performance and community oriented policing is quantitatively and qualitatively limited Much of it is out-of-date, inadequate, and is itself criticised for adopting questionable methodology and failing standards of reliability and validity (Carter *et al.*, 1989; MPPEOS, 1991; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). The findings across studies conflict, are inconsistent and inconclusive

(Hayeslip, 1989, p. 43; Lewis, 1991; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997). On the available research, Scott (1986, p.26) concluded that the value of college for police was still to a large degree a matter of conjecture. It would appear from the research reviewed that the relationship between higher education and policing remains a matter of conjecture and this strongly suggests the need for further research in this area. "However, the fact is that policing requires a better educated individual than when it began its modernization" (Bittner, 1990; Shernock & Dantzker, 1997, p.85). Higher education is one strategy for improving the individual. It has been argued by Scott (1986, as cited in Cox, 1996) that while there is scant evidence to indicate that college education is necessary for performing any occupation, there is considerable evidence that such education may improve the performance of those in the occupation.

Chapter 17.

Police education and training - evaluation of experience

A theme consistently reported within the literature is the view held by operational police that formal police education and training programs provided by police academies are irrelevant to 'real' police work (Bayley & Bittner, 1984; CARE, 1990; Barker & Carter, 1994; Shernock & Dantzer, 1997). It has been observed that:

> police tend to emphasise the value of actual experience to such an extent that the importance of training itself is minimized. Good policing is not seen as a 'teachable' process but rather a wisdom which can only come from some years experience performing the tasks themselves. (Cioccarelli, 1989, p. 55-56).

Police argue that every situation is different and observational studies confirm that much of police work is situationally dependent (McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985), and, therefore, policing is "not amenable to rational analysis and, consequently to formal learning" (Shernock & Dantzer, 1997, p. 87). However, as noted by Shernock and Dantzer, this is clearly a contradiction: "the very fact that police base subsequent behaviour on its effectiveness in previous situations indicates that learning through experience involves a discernible pattern" (1997, p.87). As such, police work is open to rational analysis and this permits its incorporation into the formal curriculum through such things as experiential learning and field training programs (Bradley, 1992; McDonald, 1986).

A lack of experience implies a lack of common sense and practical policing ability. The term 'common sense' describes an unmeasurable but highly desirable quality that is often associated with effective policing but not with formal education (Carter et al., 1989). It defies universal definition (MPPOES, 1991) and is basically "a function of the perceptions of a particular individual about the job-related performance of another" and in the view of MPPOES it presents a line of inquiry that leads nowhere (Carter et al., 1989; MPPOES, 1991, p. 19). A lack of operational experience and insufficient 'time in the ranks' are both seen as significant barriers to the acceptance of graduate entry schemes, fast tracked promotions, and direct entry schemes (Hill & Smithers, 1991). From an examination of the Graduate Entry Scheme in the United Kingdom, Hill and Smithers found that this scheme contributed

towards a resentment and suspicion of the program and of the applicants themselves. Moreover, there is a risk that similar schemes may be viewed by operational police as an effort to undermine the `Office of Constable' (Hill & Smithers, 1991). In addition to union opposition to such schemes, organisational resistance was also observed by Hill and Smithers. These authors noted concern that the negative perceptions generated by advanced level entry schemes may serve to undermine the credibility of senior officers and the police organisation, because such characteristics as credibility, leadership and respect are seen as being enhanced by having "been a constable", that is having obtained experience at the most fundamental level of policing (Hill & Smithers, 1991, p. 320).

The role that experience plays in policing has been examined by Bayley and Bittner (1984). They observe that experience of the job contributes to learning about goals, tactics and presence. Experience teaches police about goals and how to juggle disparate goals that coexist within varying time frames; for example how to meet departmental norms, contain violence and control disorder, prevent crime while avoiding physical injury to themselves and threats to their careers. Learning to apply appropriate tactics to any given situation involves learning what `works' in terms of objectives and in circumstances that vary enormously. Tactical choices may be aided by having implicit operating instructions but experience is still required in learning how to apply them. Establishing a presence is more important than simply doing things. It requires becoming `something' to fit the situation. For example, it may involve a physical presence sufficient to `blot out the sun' or the `gift of the gabb' to intimidate or defuse threats of violence. External calm and internal alertness have been identified as key elements of an effective presence. Experience provides lessons on which goals are reasonable, which tactics ensure the achievement of different goals in varying circumstances and how to cultivate a career sustaining presence (Bayley & Bittner, 1984).

Learning from experience is traditionally seen as central to the acquisition of occupational knowledge and skills (Jones, 1986) and represents a vocational or craft centred approach to learning (Bayley & Bittner, 1984; McDonald, 1987). In this approach, learning comes exclusively through experience intuitively processed by individuals or determined by a group consensus. In recognition of the value of experiential learning, as part of a process of

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accreditation, and by a need to standardise and improve the learning experience models of police education and training have sought to incorporate a field training program within the formal curriculum (CARE, 1990; McCampbell, 1989). However, the literature has identified two persistent problems with field training programs: the difficulty of replicating and integrating the field experience into the operational context and within the overall education or training program; and the reliance upon Field Training Officers and significant others within the operational environment to act as representatives of the academy and the police organisation (CARE, 1990).

The success of field training programs is considered dependent upon their integration into the operational context and within the overall training program (Smith & Gray, 1985; McDonald, 1987; CARE, 1990; McConville & Shepherd, 1991). However, "[a] marked feature of police training curricula is the difficulty of representing the reality of police work and the contemporary community context of policing" (CARE, 1990, p. 154; McDonald, 1993). An inability to accurately represent the nature of police work and the context of policing makes a substantial contribution to the degree of 'culture shock' experienced by probationary constables. What may be perceived as a fictitious portrayal of police work and the context of policing undermines the credibility of academy training (CARE, 1990). As CARE observed:

> there is a tendency for the Academy to be seen as having tenuous relevance to operational reality. There is strong evidence of an 'us and them' situation developing where the ideals and standards of professional policing represented by the Academy, are, at best, seen as laudable but inapplicable and, at worst, as irrelevant. (1990, p. 84).

The probationers' first encounters with policing underscore how ignorant they are of 'real police work' and how much they have to learn (CARE, 1990; Shernock & Dantzer, 1997). The disparity between academy preparation and operational reality leads to disenchantment (CARE, 1990; PSMC, 1993), de-legitimises the role of the academy as a provider of police training (CARE, 1990, p. 109) and contributes to the rejection of organisational and academy goals (CARE, 1990). As noted by Shernock and Dantzer, there is near consensus within the literature that recruits (probationary constables) are told by operational police and their Field Training Officers "to forget all that crap they were told in the Academy" (1997, p. 86).

From a cultural perspective, the 'real' training of probationary constables occurs on the street under the guidance of experienced or at least 'streetwise' police officers, many of whom are imbued with the police culture (CARE, 1990; Barker & Carter, 1994, p. 50; Fitzgerald, 1989, p. 211). Such training promotes group norms and behaviours, limits the range and context of learning and skews the learning process towards an acceptance of group ideology and values (Jones & Joss, 1985, p. 215). CARE has criticised the informal learning experience as being "unmonitored, uncontrolled, unreflected upon and unsystematic" (1990, p. 81). However, the literature strongly suggests that an informal process of evaluation is undertaken by the group of constables and immediate supervisors at least until such time that the probationary constable is fully integrated into the police sub-culture (Jones, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985). Peer evaluation and a lack of confidence and authority leads to compliance by preventing probationary constables from acting contrary to the police subculture (CARE, 1990; Fitzgerald, 1989, p. 211). This program of informal learning and evaluation operates within the same time frame and context of formal programs but occurs independently of them.

The principal problem with this form of learning is that it is essentially committed to the affirmation and the augmentation of the police subculture as represented by an acceptance of culturally sanctioned practices, behaviours and attitudes. A large percentage of the informal training program appears to be committed to learning how to evade instructions (Smith & Gray, 1985, p. 303) and circumventing the law and police rules and procedures (CARE, 1990, p. 66). It is also a time devoted to learning how to cover up mistakes committed by themselves or others in the course of their duties (Smith & Gray, 1985). In reference to the reform of police practice, a major concern with the informal learning program, as observed by McConville and Shepherd (1991, p. 159), is that the police culture "is antipathetic towards the service model of policing, has little time for community policing ideals, and does not value community beat work." This is a view of the police role in society which Powell (1993) suggests will impede the reform of police practice and the successful implementation of programs that advocate community oriented policing. The informal learning process ultimately leads to the replication of patterns of 'institutional deviance'.

During their observational studies, McConville and Shepherd observed that "training always

evaporated in the face of experience and the influence of officers who already had access to the insights of real policing" (1991, p. 192). This feature of the interaction between the formal training program and the operational and occupational realities and context of policing was recognised by CARE (1990, p. 63) as a fundamental problem. The difficulty is in providing the operational experience without the attendant problems of socialisation and operationally imposed stress, that is, the acute difficulty of securing a protected educational experience in operational settings (CARE, 1990, pp. 154-155; Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999; McDonald, 1993, p. 10). Moreover, police work and the police experience of communities is subject to misrepresentation by police training curricula and is influenced by the operational demands of policing (CARE, 1990, p. 155). Some solutions to the problems outlined above have been proposed by CARE (1990, pp. 155-157). They include integrating field experiences with campus-based training and a structured attachment to a community organisation. They argue that this would permit some contact with the community and expose probationers to alternate points of view while minimising the influence of policing. CARE also suggested an expansion upon the case study approach to learning that included: the design of specific training responses on commonly encountered problems and stressful situations, the creation of specialist teams to design and operate large scale simulations, and the placement of probationers with other agencies and inter-agency co-operation in developing training. Alternatively, Longbottom and Van Kernbeek (1999, p. 277) have suggested that there should be "no apprenticeship on the street" and have recommended extended periods of field observation followed by a period of restricted operational duties prior to full placement. The difficulty of accurately representing police work and the context of policing without the attendant problems of socialisation and misrepresentation presents an area for further research.

17.1   Conclusion

Acquiring experience is undeniably an important element in "an officer's occupational socialisation" and in the acquisition and development of occupational knowledge and skills (Carter *et al.,* 1989, p. 22; Jones, 1980). The cultural interpretation of events and behaviours, and "the reproduction of the commonsense practices of yesterday through a system of authority based on experience and rank is a somewhat dysfunctional process" (CARE, 1990,

p. 90). As argued by Carter *et al.* (1989, p. 22) effective law-enforcement requires that street knowledge or `experience' be "tempered with a more global perspective of issues and dynamics" and "a broader empathy of social conditions affecting individual and group behaviours". The difficulty arises in integrating the `experience', the reality of police work and the operational context, into the formal curriculum so that appropriate goals and tactics can be discussed and the experience reflected upon (CARE, 1990; McDonald, 1987).

Chapter 18.

Conclusion

Contemporary policing and police practices have been shaped by historical precedent and by social, economic and political factors and through their interaction. Contemporary policing could be described as an occupation in transition with conventional role concepts, values, practices and responsibilities being challenged by forces within society. The core characteristics of policing and the operational practices of the uniformed Constable are being reexamined with a view to improving the quality of police services to the community. This examination has found that the core characteristics of policing and the operational practices of the uniformed Constable are determined by the core mission and the operational context of policing.

The core mission and the operational context of policing is substantially defined, controlled and manipulated by the perceptions, expectations and actions of stakeholders. Directly or indirectly these have been found to be antithetical to alternative models of policing that are service orientated, blocking, diluting or redirecting efforts to implement community policing (Reiner, 1982; Jefferson & Grimshaw, 1989; Goldstein, 1990). The community, the media and political parties are important stakeholders who exert a strong influence upon each other and the role police perform in society (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Goldstein, 1990). Law enforcement ideologies dominate community perceptions of the role of police in society (for example, Bittner, 1990; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Hooper, 1989; Manning, 1980; Reiner, 1977; Weber & Milte, 1977). An unreasonable fear of crime and of victimisation combined with stereotypical associations between minority group status and criminality have contributed to a broad acceptance of law enforcement as the core mission of the police (Bittner, 1983; Reiner, 1985). The media has been identified as a major socialising influence in our society (Carter & Radelet, 1999). A significant proportion of routine media content is related to crime and policing issues (Fielding, 1991; Reiner, 1985). There are strong financial and political incentives that predispose the media to sensationalise and distort crime and policing related events (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding & Scheingold, 1984). The content and message are

shaped both by the media and by other groups who have a vested interest in a particular style of policing, police practice or other value system associated with crime control. In this manner concern for crime and a law enforcement ideology are instilled within the community. As the primary source of information for the community (Alderson, 1979; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Fielding, 1991), this makes the control of the media a major priority for those seeking to direct public debate and influence public opinion. Crime and laws are a reflection of society's values and so law making, law enforcement and hence policing are fundamentally political processes (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 421). Law enforcement is considered a public acknowledgement of a government's commitment to providing a stable society through the maintenance of social order (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Avery, 1981). So, law enforcement and fear of crime provide a mechanism through which political power can be contested in the public arena (Young, 1991; Reiner, 1986). An attack on crime is in keeping with community expectations, the dominant police ideology and a punitive political climate (Albanese, 1998; Reiner, 1985; Scheingold, 1984; Young, 1991). Intervention in policing can be achieved through legitimate legislative and fiscal policies and in this manner political parties can manipulate community support for their own particular brand of politics (Loveday, 1996b, 1997). This arrangement has manifested itself in a renewed interest in 'law and order' campaigns and 'value for money' policing (Brewer *et al.*, 1996; Loveday, 1996b, 1997).

Law-enforcement dominates the perceptions and expectations of these three important stakeholders (Reiner, 1978; Hooper, 1989; Caton, 1993). Their perceptions and expectations influence and are in turn influenced and manipulated by the police culture and organisation to legitimise their own ideology of police practice (Young, 1991). The police culture is represented in the behaviour and work practices of the rank-and-file police officer (Bayley, 1994; Brogden, 1991; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Smith & Gray, 1985; Young, 1991). The persistence of the occupational culture and its deeply entrenched opposition to the community policing ideology is well documented (for example, Chan, 1997; Jones, 1980; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Smith & Gray, 1985). Police behaviour and practices are shaped by a rank-and-file commitment to a law-enforcement ideology. Such practices are maintained because they are congruent with the values and goals of the police

culture which conform with those held by the dominant community, the local political context and the organisational context of policing (Bradley, 1996b; McConville & Shepherd, 1991; Reiner, 1985; Scheingold, 1984). As a consequence of the reforms undertaken during the 1930's in the United States of America, a military-bureaucratic organisational model of policing was adopted and crime control was endorsed as the core mission of policing (Zaho, 1996). The nature of the police organisation has a profound effect upon the role that police perform, the practical implementation of the theory of policing and the development and implementation of policy and procedures that support this role (Bayley, 1994; Bradley, 1996b; Goldstein, 1990; Jefferson & Grimshaw, 1984; Wilson, 1963; Zaho, 1996). The present day actions of large bureaucratic institutions such as police organisations are 'powerfully affected' by past actions and established convictions of policing and crime (Bayley, 1990, p. 2; Sparrow *et al.*, 1990). Efforts to bring about change in the direction of community oriented policing have been frustrated by entrenched values and beliefs that reflect a military-bureaucratic organisational model and the core mission of crime control (Auten, 1991; Ellis, 1991; Goldstein, 1990).

Despite the social and political imperatives to reform policing the core mission of the police has not fundamentally altered during the last half a century and remains crime control (Zaho, 1996). The core mission of contemporary policing has been criticised for being in direct conflict with basic democratic principles (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Crowther, 1998; Reiner, 1985; Manning, 1997) and for being simply unachievable (Lusher, 1981). The effect of policing is uneven in its social impact either through poor management or through selective strategies that target particular groups or individuals or through the differential provision of police services (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Manning, 1997). Manning has argued and Carter and Radelet have shown that in this manner policing has reproduced or even enhanced social inequalities, aggravated police-community relations and, in doing so, undermined its own efforts at crime-control. The core mission of the police must be feasible and capable of a significant degree of achievement or performance (Lusher, 1981, p. 24). Crime-control, as the core mission of policing, is beyond fulfilment (Loveday, 1996b; Lusher, 1981). The evidence suggests that conventional police strategies and practices have very little impact upon crime (Klockars, 1985). It is apparent that the origins and occurrence of crime, its

prevalence and persistence, is determined by social, economic and cultural factors that are beyond the control of the police (Loveday, 1996b; Lusher, 1981; Radelet, 1980; Zaho, 1996). Nevertheless, the police have come to believe, and indeed are encouraged to believe, that their survival and social standing are dependent upon their capacity to control crime (Jones, 1980; Manning, 1997; Young, 1991). To judge police on this false and illusive premise "depresses morale, leads to public humiliation, lowered self-esteem, public criticism, and the violation of many procedural guarantees" (Fielding, 1996, p. 297; Bates, 1991, p. 109). The ineffectiveness of the police at crime control combined with undesirable outcomes associated with policies and strategies of crime control emphasise the need to modify the core mission of the police (Bradley, 1996b).

Three important themes have emerged from the literature regarding law-enforcement and crime control within a democratic society. The first is that the authority of the police is derived from the community. The second is that the police are relatively unimportant in the enforcement of the law (Avery, 1982, p. 20), compliance with the law being primarily achieved through deference to informal non-legal sanctions and controls that exert pressure upon members of the community to conform (Homel, 1994, p. 10). The third is that crime control is not the sole responsibility of the police; rather in a democratic society crime-control is primarily the responsibility of the community (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Smith & Gray, 1985). The implication for policing is that long-term successful law-enforcement in a democratic society requires the acceptance, cooperation and approval of the community (for example, Carter & Radelet, 1999). Community policing may provide the theoretical framework for internalising normative controls and for enhancing public participation in and sharing responsibility for crime control (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Smith & Gray, 1985). For Friedmann, community policing epitomises participatory democracy.

> It is a way for the recipient of police service to determine not only how those services should be planned, delivered, evaluated and who should be accountable for them, but it is also an attempt to approach the problem of crime control through what generates crime to begin with and that is the community itself. (1992, p. 187).

Community policing requires a more detailed definition of the role of the police and of the community in crime-control, and greater police accountability to the community (Carter & Radelet, 1999). With community policing, consideration needs to be given to such issues as

community empowerment and the community context of policing (Lurigio and Rosenbaum, 1997; Skogan, 1994). Furthermore, the police will need to have an understanding of the social issues and of the expectations and perceptions of various interest groups within the community. Community policing will require police sensitivity and creativity in providing services to the community particularly in large, diverse and socially and economically deprived communities (Carter & Radelet, 1999). Many of these communities are dysfunctional (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Lea & Young, 1993) and majoritarian forms of democracy are often ambivalent towards the needs of low status groups and individuals (Reiner, 1985). This suggests that the police have a responsibility to organise and stimulate the community towards change (Carter & Radelet, 1999, p. 283; Sherman, 1992) and a responsibility to ensure the fair and equitable imposition of the law and the provision of police services (Bittner, 1990; Reiner, 1985). Community policing represents a significant shift in the core mission of policing and provides a framework for the transformation of the operational practices of the uniformed Constable.

Community policing adds another dimension to the responsibilities and activities of uniformed police (Friedmann, 1992). Community policing also necessitates a shift in the skills and knowledge base of the police. As noted by Friedmann (1992, p. 65), these include a knowledge of departmental procedures and the law, highly developed interpersonal and social skills, a broader understanding of social problems and the ability to apply socially-relevant solutions. The strategic shift in policing implicit within the theoretical framework of community policing has significant implications for the reform of police education and training (Kakar, 1998, p. 632). This has been observed by several commentators and various Commissions of Inquiry who, to varying degrees, have recommended upgrading police education and training, and the participation of police in tertiary education (for example, Carter *et al.*, 1989, Fitzgerald, 1989; Lusher, 1981; Sapp, 1986; Sherman, 1978; Wood, 1997).

The benefits of tertiary education were seen to include the development of enhanced personal, interpersonal, social and technical skills (NSW Police, 1989). It was recognised that tertiary education had the capacity to reform police behaviour and practice (Fitzgerald, 1989; Lusher, 1981) and to assist occupational preparation and development. Despite diverse,

contradictory and ambiguous findings on the relationship between higher education and policing there is a general acceptance that tertiary education encourages and facilitates the development of high level professional skills such as critical thinking and reflection, skills that are seen as constituting the core structure of judgement and hence police discretion (McDonald, 1993, p. 5). Furthermore, the acquisition of formal tertiary qualifications facilitated the development of the professional practitioner and accreditation as a profession (Mahony & Prenzler, 1996, p. 284). It is apparent from the paucity of research that exists on contemporary policing and higher education that further research is required on the relationship between higher education and professional models of education for police, behaviour modification and organisational reform.

Despite the imperative, alternative models of police education have had limited impact upon the practices of the uniformed Constable (Chan, 1997; Longbottom & Van Kernbeek, 1999; Wood, 1997). There is strong evidence to suggest that tertiary education and other models of professional police education have failed to substantially alter police behaviour and practice (Wood, 1997). This failure to impact upon police practice has been attributed to an apparent lack of understanding and disagreement of the role of police in a democratic society (Wood, 1997), as it is reflected in political discourse, policy development, crime control strategies and operational priorities. There is also very strong evidence that professional police education and training has been unable to influence police practice either through its own inadequacies or as consequence of the ability of the operational context to shape police practice according to its own requirements (CARE, 1990).

One of the key findings of this research is that the reform of police practice is contingent upon the reform of the operational context of policing and not, at least initially, the reform of police education and training. This is not to suggest that police education and training has no role in the reform of police practice; rather, without substantial reform of the operational context, conventional policies and practices will override the significant contribution that education can make to the reform of the practices of the uniformed Constable. The other is that crime is a social construct and linking crime to policing ensures that policing is politicised. Therefor, the role of police in society is a political construct and so ultimately the reform of police practice, itself a political construct and an exercise of political power, is a question of political reform.

Appendices

Appendix A   Major criminological theories.

A review by Moore (1991, p. 208) of the major criminological theories that are widely accepted in the United States of America and abroad:

* Merton's theory - derived from Durkheim- of *Anomie* in a society characterised by pathological materialism. Those who experience a serious contradiction between the goal of wealth and the means to achieve it became estranged from society (experienced anomie); some of these turn to crime.

* Sutherland's theory of *Differential Association* which attempts to explain how and why criminal behaviour is learned.

* Shaw and McKay's theory of *Cultural Transmission* which focuses on the influence of crimogenic neighbourhoods.

* Cloward and Ohlin's theory of *Differential Opportunity* which builds on these three theories and which differentiates between delinquent subcultures.

* Bell's theory of *ethnic succession* according to which members of successive immigrant groups engage in criminal activities for a generation or two before rising up the ladder of opportunity and being replaced by the next wave of immigrants.

* Finally, theories of *social control* explain criminal activity in terms of a failure of the bond between individuals and society , a bond which is determined by internal and external restraints.

Appendix B Characteristics of minority groups

The degree to which these conditions are prevalent in a society is seen to determine the degree to which racism or prejudice is present within a society (Carter & Radelet, 1999). From the work of Lett (1973) Carter and Radelet (1998, pp. 259-260) have derived six common characteristics of minority groups. These are:

1.   Ease of identification of members of the groups enables picking them out of a crowd on sight or through casual contact.

2   The out-group is defined by the slowness with which it is assimilated into the total population, that is, how long 'difference' persists in the public mind.

3.   The minority group's identity is fixed by the degree to which it exists in such numerical strength in a community that it irritates just by constant presence.

4.   Minority groups numbers and demands for recognition place them in a position of threatening the dominate group's notions of its own superior status, prior claim to desirable jobs, or unchallenged control of political affairs.

5.   The intensity of dominant group reaction to the minority group can be measured by the history of emotional contact between the groups, flowing from such things as labour strikes, teenage gang outburst, sensationalised crimes of violence involving members of minority groups, and even carry-over from Old World conflicts.

6.   The number and kind of rumours that circulate are many and emphasise the criminality, sexual depravity, or diabolical plotting of the minority group.

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